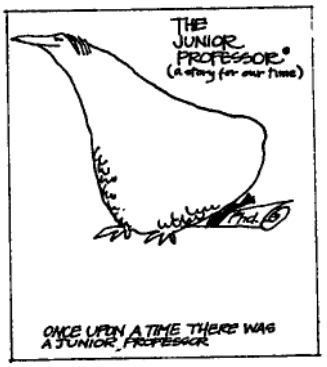
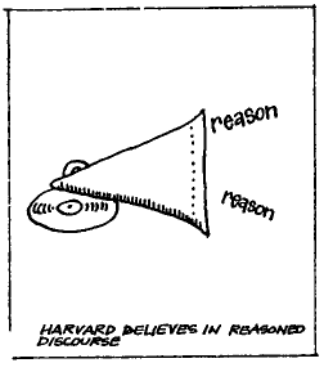
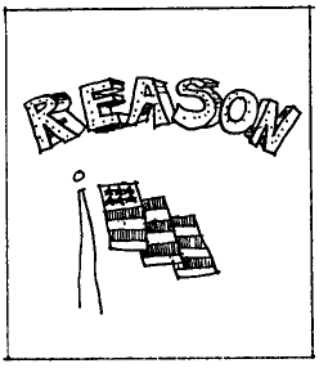
Impure & Applied Research

or: Have Data, Will Travel

Harvard's Foreign Policy Establishment







Harvard has always been influential in the shaping and implementation of American foreign policy. As former President Pusey wrote in his 1965 President's Report, "It is obvious that the large proportion of the faculty of the School of Public Administration are involved more or less formally as consultants and contractors to government officials. The work is important: it provides access to ideas and information, and an opportunity to test theory by practical experience. State, Treasury, and Defense account for a major part of the traffic between Littauer and Washington."

Every administration has its team of Harvard men: Eisenhower his Kistiakowsky, Kennedy his Bundy, and Nixon his Kissinger. In addition to Kissinger, Nixon brought in a whole stable of Harvard "braintrusters" to help translate his particular brand of vicious conservatism into concrete policies. Daniel P. Moynihan, former Director of the Harvard-M.I.T Joint Center for Urban Studies, was appointed Chairman of the Council on Urban Affairs; Professor Edward C. Banfield, author of the fascinating thesis that unemployment is the fault of the unemployed, was made head of the President's Task Force on Urban Affairs; Hendrik S. Houthakker, a Harvard economist who believes that military spending has no effect on the American economy, was appointed to the Council of Economic Advisors. So, more recently, was Marina von Neumann Whitman, '56 a Professor of Economics at the University of Pittsburgh. Elliot L. Richardson '41, LL.B. '44, was made Undersecretary of State, and Robert C. Seamans '40, was appointed SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE. John Chafee, LL.B. '50, was named Secretary of the Navy (they must have crimson carpets in the Pentagon).

Scholars influence policy makers in a variety of ways: some work on research contracts, some consult with government officials, others leave their universities for periods of time for government service. Harvard professors perform all these services for the Empire. Yet in Cambridge, where one can never tell where the university stops and government begins, much of Harvard's influence comes through personal friendships and working relationships developed over the years between men who flow from the campus to Washington to the Foundations and back again.

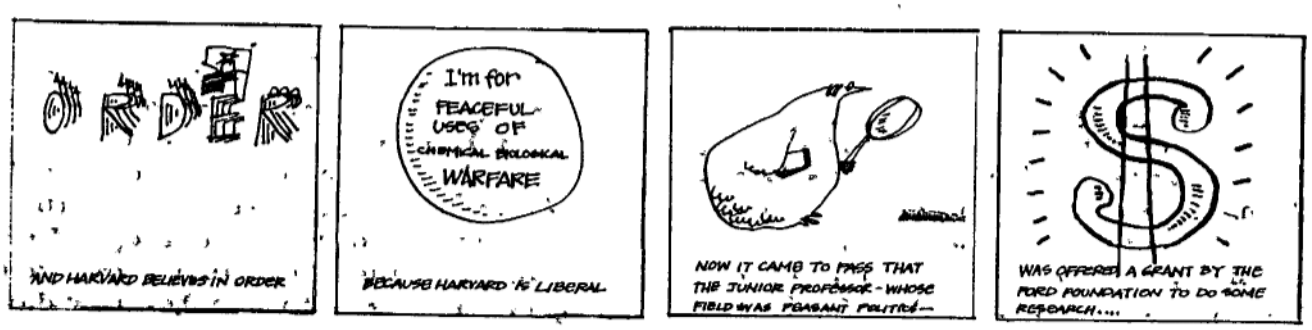
Harvard professors and administrators are prominent in the proliferation of paragovernment-parauniversity organizations which dot the Empire's foreign policy-making establishment. They play important roles in organizations like the COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, one of the most prestigious and influential "nongovernmental" organizations involved in foreign policy formulation. Based in New York, the Council's highly selective membership is restricted to corporate executives, former government officials, and university administrators. (It does not admit women or aliens; of the first 82 names on a list proposed by JFK for staffing his State Dept., 63 were members of the Council.) The purpose of the Council is to bring together well-connected members of these three groups for special discussion sessions and off-the record briefings. (One important group held a series of briefings and meetings on the organization and operations of American intelligence, one session of which was devoted to CIA work with non-government organizations such as foundations, universities, and student associations.) The seminars often lead to books, which are written or edited by the scholars in the group. Almost all of Henry Kissinger's tender treatises on foreign policy and defense strategy have been written for the Council and received its seal of approval.

The majority of Harvard's professors of international affairs are members or consultants to the Council: Stanley Hoffmann, the liberal government professor, wrote his own "re-examination" of U.S. policy for the Council in 1968.

Nathan Pusey summed it all up in his 1965 President's Report: "Much of (the relationship between Harvard and the government) is a continuing and informal process of consultation; it is hard to distinguish between discussions that go on between professors and government officials in a Littauer seminar room or at a scholarly society meeting, from those that go on where a professor is formally serving as a consultant in a government office."

Similarly, many of the Harvard economists have turned their attention to the problems of Indochinese economic development, making summer trips to the war-torn area (it's not their part of the problem to consider whether the region has any indigenous economy left at all, after such massive disruption, or whether United States hegemony should continue after the shooting stops).

Samuel Huntington, Professor of Government, has been a frequent visitor to Vietnam on his advising trips for the State Dept., and for the past few years has taught a graduate seminar on Vietnam. He lauds the high degree of urbanization that has occurred in Vietnam because of the war in the rural areas, and writes papers for the government about elections in Vietnam which he calls "games".


AND HARVARD BELIEVES IN ORDER
I'm for PEACEFUL USES OF CHEMICAL BIOLOGICAL WARFARE
BECAUSE HARVARD IS LIBERAL
NOW IT CAME TO PASS THAT THE JUNIOR PROFESSOR - WHOSE FIELD WAS PEASANT POLITICS —
WAS OFFERED A GRANT BY THE FORD FOUNDATION TO DO SOME RESEARCH....

(This analysis of Professor Huntington's work is excerpted from Tom Hayden's book, The Love of Possession is a Disease with Them, pp 50-51, 69-73.)

The Theory of Forced Urbanization

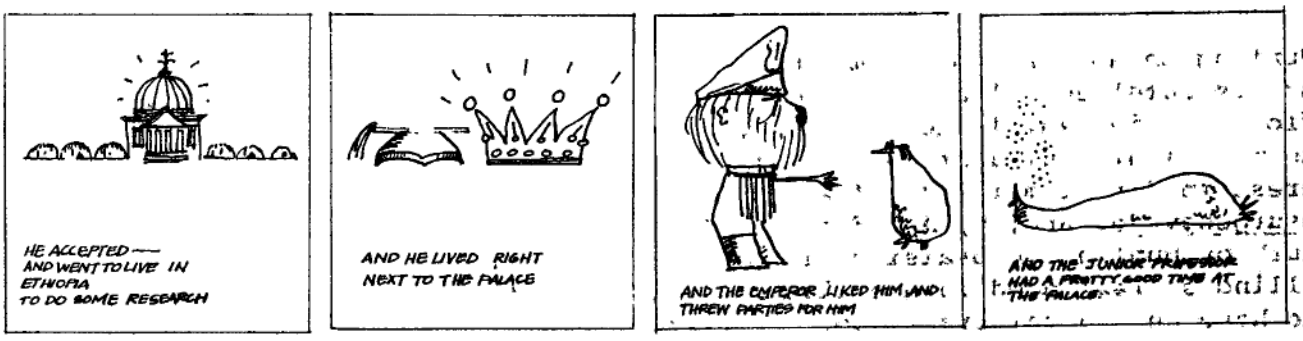
...When the Air Force general made the infamous remark during the Tet Offensive that he "bombed the city to save it," he was speaking from an underlying philosophy that guides the American war effort at every level.

The destruction of the fabric of life in the liberated zones, the killing and displacing of so many people, is justified by the concept that it is all in their best interest. Their lives are thought to be backward, tradition-bound, and poor, lacking in middle-class possibilities altogether. Communism is said to feed on this backwardness; indeed, W. W. Rostow denounced it as the "scavenger" of the development process. The road to progress and a better life, even if it begins in a bombed village and then goes to a refugee camp, is the road to the city, to urbanization, to a world called "modern."

A name has been given to this process by one of those numerous intellectual servants of power, Samuel Huntington, former chairman of the Harvard government department and a regular adviser on Southeast Asia policy. Most theories of the Vietnam war, like counter-insurgency, came not from generals but from the Cambridge (liberal) complex: Harvard, Huntington, Kennedy. The names sound like a law firm; it becomes difficult to realize their doctrines are, legally speaking, crimes against humanity. Writing in Foreign Affairs of July, 1968, Huntington invented the phrase "forced-draft urbanization." Huntington describes the NLF as holding the "good Maoist expectation that by winning the support of the rural population it could eventually isolate and overwhelm the cities." And he says, ominously, the enemy will remain a "powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as its constituency exists."

But the NLF hasn't counted on the "American-sponsored urban revolution" brought about by the "modernizing instruments of bombs and artillery" which are "largely, if not exclusively" the cause of the "movement of the population into the cities."

> ...if the "direct application of mechanical and conventional power" takes place on such a massive scale as to produce a massive migration from countryside to city, the basic assumptions underlying the Maoist doctrine of revolutionary warfare no longer operate....
> In an absentminded way the United States may well have stumbled upon the answer to "wars of national liberation." The effective response lies neither in the quest for conventional military victory nor in the esoteric doctrines and gimmicks of counter-insurgency warfare. It is


HE ACCEPTED — AND WENT TO LIVE IN ETHIOPIA TO DO SOME RESEARCH
AND HE LIVED RIGHT NEXT TO THE PALACE
AND THE EMPEROR LIKED HIM AND THREW PARTIES FOR HIM
AND THE JUNIOR PROFESSOR HAD A PRETTY GOOD TIME AT THE PALACE

instead forced-draft urbanization and modernization which rapidly bring the country in question out of the phase in which a rural revolutionary movement can hope to generate sufficient strength to come to power.

It sounds so charming, this "absentminded" solution! It is difficult to realize this man is talking about the dislocation of over 9 million of the 27 million people of Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam.

...Of the many documents revealing the nature of US political penetration, the most striking in several ways is, again, by Harvard's Samuel Huntington.*

"Getting Ready for Political Competition in South Vietnam" is the title of Huntington's sweeping document. It was presented in March, 1969, to the Southeast Asia Development Group (SEADAG), a policy-making arm of the Asia Society (CIA funded) and the official US Agency for International Development (AID). The paper may be a response to his Harvard associate Kissinger's lament on the lack of a "political corollary" to US military power in the South; all that Huntington admits, in a discreet footnote, is that the document is based on "brief talks with perhaps a dozen Washington officials" and "casual reference to a few documents."

To begin with, Huntington complains that "much of our grief" in Vietnam stems from "not becoming deeply enough involved" in that country's politics in the late fifties (when insurgency began) and immediately after Diem's fall in 1963 (when coup followed coup in Saigon). Since early 1966, however, he takes pride in the "active role" of the US in seeking a "viable political system."

The first task of political competition is to "get the opponent to agree to play the game," then "beat him at the game" -- in other words, develop a rigged political system and force your opponent to accept it.

American bombing is the force Huntington counts on, not only for "forced urbanization" but for getting the NLF to play the game of politics. He is, of course, more euphemistic; the bombing is "inducing substantial migration." And then more matter of factly: "The NLF's principal incentive to engage in political competition is the beating it is getting in the military competition."

The future of Vietnam "lies in its cities," of course, so the key to a successful political deal is to offer the NLF the countryside in exchange for US control of the cities and trade. The NLF will thus have some semi-autonomous zones temporarily, but the immediate price will be acceptance of the "formal authority" of the Saigon government, thus reducing the NLF in status to that of a sect rather than a force bidding for national power.

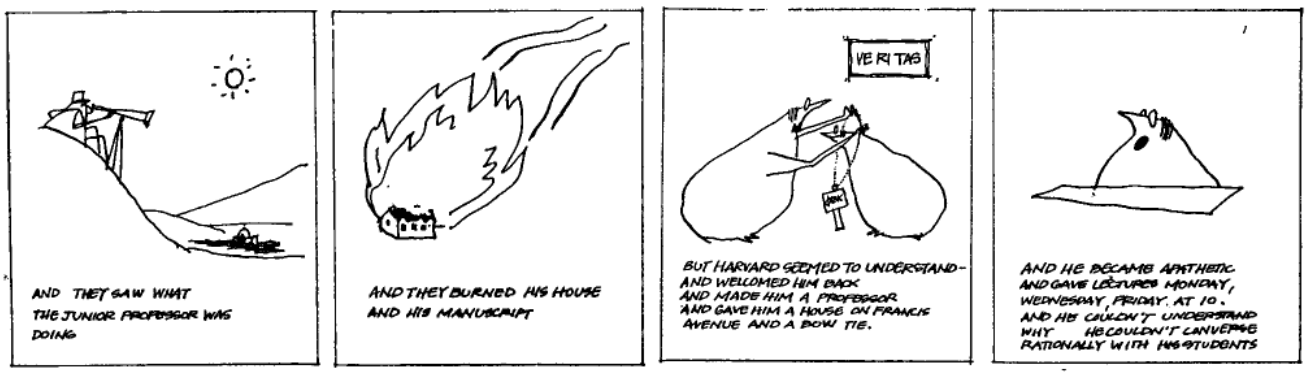
*Huntington appears to be among the most important and least known of the various intellectual advisers who have given direction to the criminal US effort in Vietnam. In addition to his doctrines of "forced urbanization" and political manipulation, this government professor takes an active interest in direct military affairs. An important overview, titled Counter-Insurgency Warfare, by Air Force Major John S. Pustay, carries a jacket blurb by Huntington praising it as a "systematic, analytical handbook" filling a "real need in guerilla warfare literature." Of those intellectuals who have kept a university cover instead of entering government service directly, Huntington seems to be at the top.

As if this was not enough, Huntington proposes the US create its own opposition to the government which it supports in Saigon -- just so that the NLF won't be able to monopolize the urban opposition. He proposes going to Generals Thi and Minh, and to the Buddhist Thich Tri Quang and suggesting they "take the lead in organizing the urban opposition."

He also urges even more horrible alternatives for the victimized masses of forced urbanization. The disintegrating culture of the cities should give rise to "messianic leaders," perhaps the reemergence of Buddhist sectarianism, possibly a fanatic cult like the Japanese Sokka Gakkai (because of the "prominent role which Japanese interests may play in postwar reconstruction"), or an Argentine-style Peronist movement: any of these "ought to be viewed favorably from the US-GVN viewpoint."

Huntington's paper, like the economic reports, seems to be one part fantasy, one part failure, one part reality. The fantasy, of course, comes from the massive arrogance which assumes everything and everyone can be rigged so easily. The NLF has not been "induced" into playing the game; the US has failed to capture the urban population because the "US-sponsored urban revolution" has driven the South Vietnamese into deep anti-Americanism. The Huntington plan is a failure because it was designed in 1969 to create at least the image of a broader political spectrum in Saigon politics. But instead Thieu turned aside any proposals for such "broadening" in the ruthlessly managed 1971 election when he ran unopposed (Why should Thieu, who no doubt is aware of schemes like Huntington's, cooperate with the Americans in building an opposition which might replace him?). Finally the Huntington plan has a certain reality because it reflects the routine and relentless thinking which American policy makers are constantly engaged in as they try to salvage their interests in Vietnam. Because the plan is fantastic, and met with failure in 1971, does not mean that these planners will stop in their attempts to translate their fantasies into reality at the continued expense of the Vietnamese people. The plan has a pedagogical reality also because the scheme to create an opposition shows how empty are the dreams of many American liberals for a "third force" between Thieu and the NLF. That "third force" would be an American front, created behind the scenes.

"THE TROUBLE WITH SAM," A COLLEAGUE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE SAID, "IS THAT HE CAN'T DISTINGUISH URBANIZATION FROM GENOCIDE."


AND THEY SAW WHAT THE JUNIOR PROFESSOR WAS DOING
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VERITAS
BUT HARVARD SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND- AND WELCOMED HIM BACK AND MADE HIM A PROFESSOR AND GAVE HIM A HOUSE ON FRANCIS AVENUE AND A BOW TIE.
AND HE BECAME APATHETIC AND GAVE LECTURES MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, FRIDAY AT 10. AND HE COULDN'T UNDERSTAND WHY HE COULDN'T CARRY ON RATIONALLY WITH HIS STUDENTS

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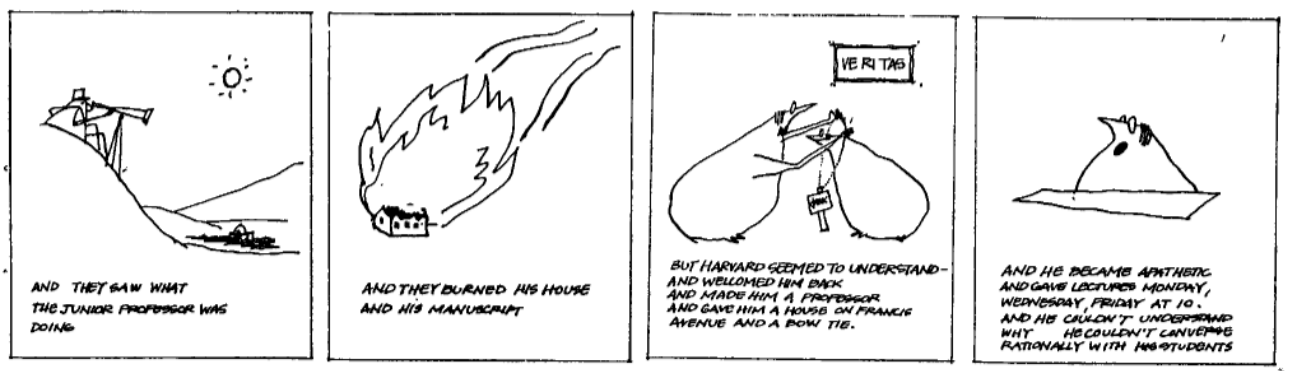
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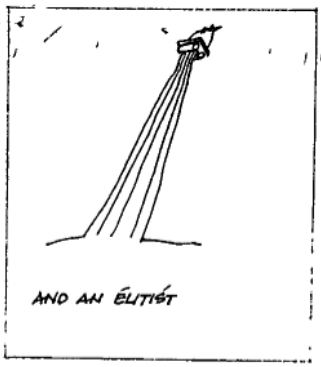
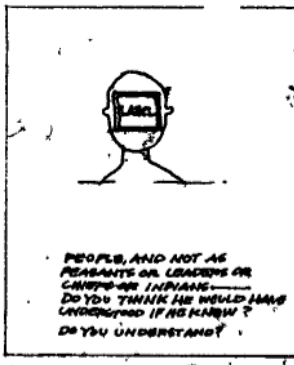


AND HE DIED, CONSERVATIVE AND BITTER. AND HE NEVER KNEW WHY HIS HOUSE IN ETHICA WAS BURNED DOWN. BECAUSE FOR ALL HIS BRILLIANCE HE NEVER UNDERSTOOD HUMAN BEINGS AS....


PEOPLE, AND NOT AS PEASANTS OR LEADERS OR CHIEFS OR INDIANS— DO YOU THINK HE WOULD HAVE UNDERSTOOD IF HE KNEW? DO YOU UNDERSTAND?

Arthur Smithies, a professor of economics and consultant to the CIA, has also written reports on South Vietnam; one for the Institute for Defense Analysis, and another (with Allen Goodman of RAND) for the State Department.

According to Smithies, "the war has changed the situation in ways which are distinctly favorable to development." His IDA paper calls for a "consortium" of countries (U.S., Japan, Australia, Thailand, New Zealand, Korea, and the Phillipines) to administer development assistance and invest in South Vietnam. The Asian Development Bank would be part of the effort, and so too will the World Bank, which "has already begun to cooperate with the U.N. in the Mekong." Bob "The Bomber" McNamara heads this institution, a clear illustration of principle, "aid is the continuation of war by other means."

The International Monetary Fund, the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Special Fund are all enlisted in Smithies scenario, although he admits there are certain limits: it would be "premature for international organizations to promote higher labor or welfare standards (in Vietnam) in the immediate future". How thoughtful of Mr. Smithies; to guard the Vietnamese against such pernicious development as increased wages or housing.

All this is not to say that th only kind of influence Harvard mandarins have comes by way of their u ward mobility or their ability to fraternize with men in power. It is also not to say that the connections between Harvard and the governing elite have been solely individual and do not have profound effects on Harvard institutions and teaching. The Empire has become so vast and so troublesome to administer that it is no longer sufficien as in the days of FDR, just to brin a "brain trust" to Washington. New mandarins must be turned out, and channeled into the intellectual dis ciplines the Empire needs to provid crucial information. Government of ficials must be trained by scholars in the new sophisticated languages and skills needed to manage the gro ing empire. The intellectual resources of academic communities suc as Harvard and MIT must be organize and channeled into collectivized se vice.

Enter the Institute, a new for of collective management of the intellectual enterprise. Professors are now encouraged to brainstorm in groups, to desregard old discipline boundaries, to avoid intellectual i solation, for the glory of "problem solving".

Institutes

The Russian Research Center

The Russian Research Center, like the MIT Center for International Studies, is a Cold War baby. Exactly one year and eight months after Churchill discovered the Iron Curtain, Clyde Kluckholn, just out of the cold from the OSS, submitted a budget for the new center to the Carnegie Corporation. The Center represented an important convergence of interests: the government mania over the Soviet Union; a group of returning OSS researchers, pioneers in the new Kremlinology; the Carnegie Corporation's interest in survey research; and the Air Force's preoccupation with Eastern Europeans. It also represented an important turning point in the social science establishment: the cooperative funding by government and foundations of a large, interdisciplinary survey research project.

It was also a turning point in terms of the new politicization of the content of the social sciences. The original proposal for the Center, which came not from Harvard but from the Carnegie's John Gardner (later Johnson's Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare), said that the Research Center should "develop a program of research upon those adpects of the field of Russian studies which lie peculiarly within the professional competence of social psychologists, sociologists and cultural anthropologists." What this described was the first institutional attempt to apply behaviorist sociology to political problems, to enforce through an elite research center the removal of questions of objective reality or principle or politics from the acceptable areas of scholarly concern. It was the birth of the new psychiatric Kremlinology, the end of an idealogical concern with the rightness or wrongness of a communist view of the world in favor of analyzing their subconscious minds, or, how to psych out the commies.

In its 1962 report, the Russian Research Center announced that members of its staff served as consultants to classified projects within the Army, Navy, Air Force, RAND Corporation, Research and Development Board, Department of State and CIA; many many more served in unclassified work. The Center also "supplied some services," the report said, to the British Foreign Office and British Intelligence through its visiting agent, R.N. Carew-Hunt. In its small Soviet Union Program (20 students a year) the Center trains graduate students to be effective Kremlinologists, pursuing the cold war at first, and now, no doubt, the detente, which has become an integral part of the U.S. foreign policy.

Whatever it was, the Center put Russian studies on the map, as the first of a series of area studies, stimulated and funded by the government, which provided the needed data and intelligence to expand and manage the Empire.

Harvard's CIA: The Center for International Affairs

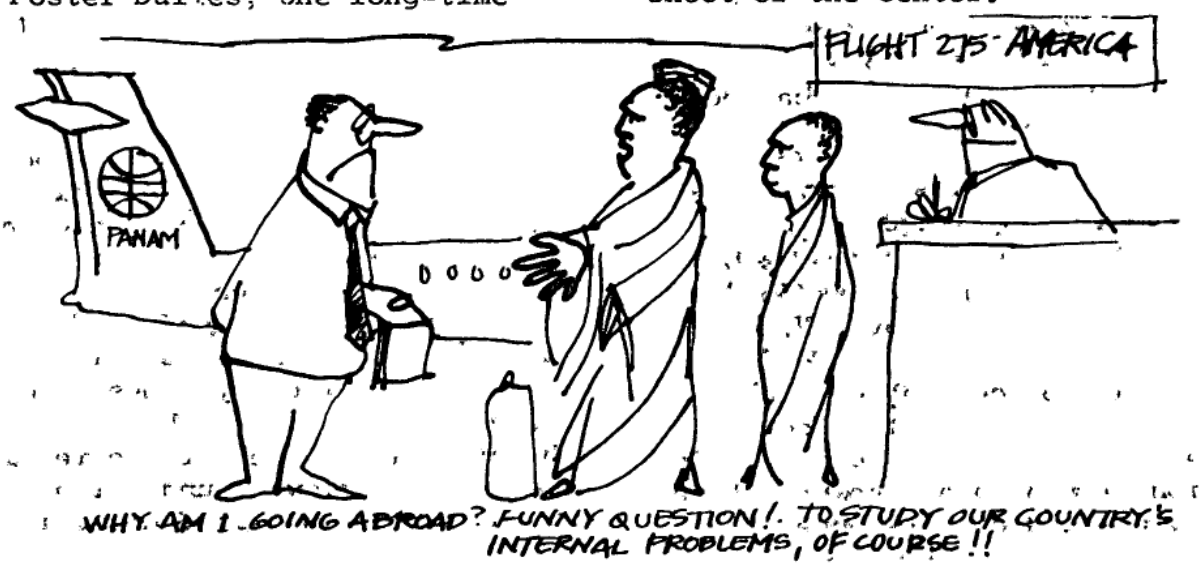
The next addition to the Cambridge branch of the Empire's research apparatus was Harvard's Center for International Affairs, (CFIA), modeled after the Center for International Studies (CIS) at MIT; both coordinate foreign area and advise governments on economic and military matters. The CIS was founded in 1951 primarily to study psychological techniques useful in the cold war. To this end, the Central Intelligence Agency provided permanent funding, and both Harvard and MIT scholars participated.

In 1957 the CFIA was set up at Harvard. As an "autonomous" center it has not received CIA funds but nonetheless does the same kind of research (with a shift in emphasis to Southeat Asia) and maintains the same intimate relations with the government. Pressure for the Center came from its first and present director, Robert R. Bowie (Professor of International Relations) then assistant Secretary of State under John Foster Dulles; one long-time friend, Dean McGeorge Bundy, insured its establishment and others like Raymond Vernon (Professor of International Business), Henry Kissinger, Thomas Schelling (a conflict theorist), and Seymour M. Lipset (a sociologist), joined the staff.

The projects of the CFIA are divided into three interlocking fields. Under "Development and Modernization" come topics like political stability or student politics in developing countries. Studies on the control of domestic violence (student demonstrations; labor revolts; urban guerillas etc.) and international violence (alliance politics, territorial conflict etc.) come under the heading "Political-Military Strategy." Finally "Atlantic and European Studies have included Kissinger's search for ways to strengthen NATO relations.

Through its Fellows program, the CFIA brings together foreign-affairs officials from the U.S. and select foreign countries in order to pinpoint the paths of least resistance to the advance of capitalism in different parts of the world.

An attempt is then made to translate these broad policy conclusions into economic development strategy, a task assigned to the Development Advisory Service, a specialized offshoot of the center.



The Development Advisory Service

The operation of this group at Harvard typifies both the operational and ideological roles which Harvard men play in the maintenance of the international capitalist system. The DAS has a "field staff" of economic advisors working with the governments of Indonesia, Ghana, Ethiopia, and Colombia; in the past they have also advised government agencies in Pakistan, Liberia, Greece, and Argentina. In addition to their field work, DAS advisors often return to Harvard to write and teach about economic development.

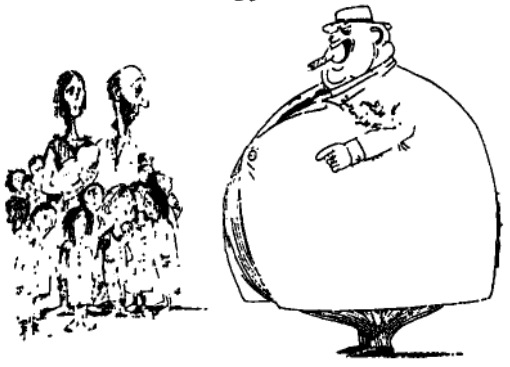
The usual DAS procedure is to construct applied mathematical models which purport to show the economic consequences of various policy options open to the client government.

DAS clients have been without exception, the governments of countries with very inequitable distributions of income and political power. These two closely related variables are not the model as variables but as constants, because policy changes based on changes in these variables would threaten the stability of the very same governments the DAS is trying to "advise".

The DAS, of course, concludes that what ails the country under consideration is not the unequal distribution of wealth and power in the society, but instead its general "low level" of development characterized by an "undisciplined" labor force, shortage of competent technicians, and a lack of "entrepreneurial talent".

All this really amounts to is the DAS version of the guiding principle behind all Harvard "social science" - blaming poverty on the poor. Blacks could earn more, and underdeveloped countries could grow more, if they just weren't so ignorant.

Needless to say, in spite of their tremendous expertise with parametric equations and linear programming, DAS advisors have yet to spark a process of sustained growth anywhere on the globe. Is it any wonder, given their ideology.



"So you are the cause of starvation."
From AL-THORA, Damascus

The Business School

The Harvard Business School, which deserves to be treated in far greater detail than it is here, is involved in at least three programs designed to create a capitalist management class in foreign countries.

The International Marketing Institute is a springoff and yet part of the Business School. It was organized in 1960 by James A. Hagler, one of the Business School's more dynamic faculty members, ostensibly to "increase worldwide understanding of the dynamic aspects of marketing and

distribution, and to spur greater use of sound marketing practices." Its highpowered training courses for international management elites received grants from the Department of State, A.I.D., the Ford Foundation, and the C.I.A.

International Marketing Institute Contract with Agency for International Development

1a-670 (Uruguay) -- I.M.I.. 06/15/71/-03/31/73 $130,000. Advise and assist in the organization and administration of foreign commerce activities.

Harvard's work with international trade union leaders has been somewhat more insidious. What is a well-endowed business school doing helping to shape and mold working-class leadership?

Harvard's concern with improving international business prospects for the U.S. required some programs aimed at controlling and manipulating the one potential opposition group which stands in the way. Hence, an international trade union training program was organized under the direction of George Cabot Lodge (Henry's son). Lodge helped organ... both the I.M.I. and the Trade Union Program. That's like training Isr... pilots in the morning and then, in afternoon, teaching Arab anti-aircr... gunners to misfire.

The Harvard University Trade Union Program

The Harvard University Trade Union Program is designed to provide union officers with 12½ weeks of training for administrative responsibilities. The course deals with actual policy questions and decisions which confront the union leader. The program is designed to extend to the trade unions the same basic type of training which the University has long offered men entering business administration. It is conducted jointly by the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the Graduate School of Business Administration, and the Law School.

There are two sessions each year: the first from mid-September to early December, and the second from early February to early May.

A student is usually sent by a trade union as its selected representative. Overseas candidates are selected by the United States Departments of State and Labor and the Agency for International Development; they must have a good knowledge of the English language in addition to being trade unionists. The University is interested in having the trade unions send people of intelligence and practical experience who expect to spend their careers in the service of the labor movement.

The program includes Problems in Labor Relations, Economic Analysis, Labor Law and Arbitration, American Labor History and International Labor Affairs, Trade Union Administration, Trade Union Communication, and a Collective Bargaining Seminar.

A catalogue and additional information may be obtained by writing to the Harvard University Trade Union Program, Harvard Business School.

School Projects Outside the United States

Since 1963 the School has been helping the Central American bus... community to establish the Central American Institute of Bus... Administration (INCAE) as a permanent graduate school of ma... ment education serving the six countries of the region.

Working under contracts with the Agency for International Dev... ment, the School has prepared indigenous teaching materials for u... INCAE courses; trained prospective members of its faculty; pro... interim staffing for its two-year resident M.B.A. Program an... Advanced Management courses and seminars; and assisted in it... velopment as an autonomous and viable educational institu... INCAE's campus facilities, located near Managua, Nicaragua, ... completed in the spring of 1969.

Under grants received from the Ford Foundation in 1966 and ... the School is providing technical assistance for a program to streng... graduate business education in the Philippines through the imp... ment of the teaching and research capacities of three of its le... institutions of higher education: Ateneo de Manila University, D... Salle College, and the University of the Philippines. Project co... tants and research assistants from the School, resident in Manila, ... advised and assisted these institutions in the development of local t... ing materials and in planning their respective curricula and courses ... have also provided instruction in the areas of Business Policy, Fin... Marketing, Operations Management, Organizational Behavior, ... Production. During the last four years, 26 Filipino faculty men ... have received training at the Harvard Business School and other ... versities in the United States under the auspices of this program ... 1968 the Ateneo de Manila University and De La Salle College de... to combine their resources and jointly establish the Asian Institu... Management, a full-time graduate school of business administr... designed to serve the Philippines and neighboring Asian countries.

"Thank heavens for our natural resources — otherwise we could n... afford such poverty . . ." From NEBELSPALTER, Rorschach, S...

Harvard and the

CHEATHAM, Prof Thomas E., Jr.
Harvard University

INFORMATION PROCESSING PANEL

Pentagon

[illegible] 20330

REPLY TO ATTN OF: AF/NE

30 September 1970

SUBJECT: Letter of Authorization

OCT 13 1970

TO: DISTRIBUTION

1. You are cordially invited to attend the USAF Scientific Advisory Board General Meeting at Andrews AFB, Maryland, on 22-23 October 1970.

2. In accordance with your current travel orders you are authorized to travel from your respective address to Andrews AFB, Maryland, and return with variations in itinerary as may be necessary.

Edward C Straub

EDWARD C. STRAUB, Major, USAF
Assistant Executive Secretary
USAF Scientific Advisory Board

This conflicts with the Honeywell Advisory Board Meeting on the 23rd.

Do you want to go on the 22nd?

DISTRIBUTION

Prof Holt Ashley
Dr. Norman A. Baily
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Dr. Don H. Byers
Prof Thomas E. Cheatham, Jr. ✓
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Prof Abraham Hertzberg
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Dr. Charles M. Herzfeld
Dr. Wayne H. Holtzman
Mr. Richard E. Horner
Dr. Francis S. Johnson
Mr. Donald J. Jordan
Dr. Gilbert W. King
David M. Kipnis, M.D.
Dr. Albert L. Latter
Dr. Harold W. Lewis
Dr. Robert G. Loewy

> We are committed in a larger sense to developing the connection between our University and the Armed Services in a variety of ways, because one of the characteristics of the middle of the twentieth century is that we are in a period which is not peace and not war, a period in which the techniques of academic learning, both in the Social Sciences and in the Natural Sciences, are more closely connected than ever before with those of the National Defense. A university which does not try to develop to a maximal degree, interest, cooperation and understanding between its staff members and those of the National Defense forces is not doing its full job.
>
> -- Former Dean of the College McGeorge Bundy, in a presentation to a ROTC panel, 1955

Harvard has always been big on defense. Its scientists have worked on weapons; its social scientists and lawyers have shaped national security policy. Harvard professors sit on the Armed Services Advisory Boards, and on the Boards of Directors and Science Advisory Boards of defense contractors. Harvard invests in defense-related industries and the Corporation and Board of Overseers have more than a few members with important ties to the war machine. In the Materials Science Center of the Division of Engineering and Applied Physics, basic research continues for the Advanced Research Projects Agency of the Dept. of Defense (ARPA), with the aim of developing special alloys capable of withstanding greater stress loads, higher temperatures, etc. The relevance of this kind of research to the development of new weapons systems is obvious -- the Armed Services are always on the lookout for new materials which will give them a jump on the competition.

The Division of Engineering and Applied Physics took in $2,212,754 worth of defense research contracts last year. (See "A Sampler of Harvard Defense Research Contracts.")

Members of the Department are hard at work on phased radar antenna arrays under a continuing contract for the Air Force and Navy, and extensible computer languages for the Hanscom Field Electronic Systems Division (USAF) -- the people who gave us the automated battlefield. The College also has a continuing contract with the Armed Forces Epidemiological Board, the Army medical group which tries to develop means of protecting GI's against tropical diseases.

Roger Fisher of the Law School was the first to propose an anti-infiltration barrier across the DMZ, in a memo to the Dept. of Defense, Jan., 1966. (Pentagon Papers, Vol. 44) George Kistiakowsky (Prof. of Chemistry, Emeritus) was science advisor to President Eisenhower, and served along with Fisher on the Jason Committee of the Institute for Defense Analysis, the group that initiated the automated battlefield idea.

Thomas Cheatham (DEAP) is a member of the information processing panel of the Air Force Scientific Advisory Board, which assists in developing new technologies for the Air Force. Cheatham helps the Air Force formulate criteria for the procurement of computers, and has participated in the review of the ALS (Advanced Logistics System) which the Defense Dept. project code book describes as follows:

> An Air Force program to obtain third generation computers for its five Air Material Areas, Wright Patterson AFB, and in support of the Nuclear Ordnance Logistics Support Systems. About 95 computers are to be replaced with the aim of providing instant response to supply requests from the field.

The net outcome of Cheatham's work for the Air Force is that he is helping them to kill more efficiently, and with greater speed and accuracy than ever before.

Air Force Scientific Advisory Board

AFSAB, with its up to 70 members, operates quite differently from the other committees, especially NARC. AFSAB's operation might be termed a mass attack on a broad front.

Four functional areas of interest are addressed by AFSAB which:

- Reviews and evalutes long-range plans and the adequacy of current R&D programming.
- Recommends promising scientific developments for selective Air Force emphasis.
- Studies methods of improving Air Force R&D.
- Provides a pool of expert advice to various Air Force R&D activities.

Projects, or problems to be solved, come from the SAB itself or from the Secretary of the Air Force or the AF Chief of Staff. A SAB steering committee, composed of the Chairman and Vice Chairman, ASAF (R&D), Chief Scientist and SAB's Military Director, LGen Marvin L. McNickle--who is also DC/S (R&D)--defines and approves each project.

(cont. next pa

A Sampler of Defense Contracts

SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PUBLICATIONS

SPONSOR: OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH, ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA.

TITLE: COMMUNICATIONS: ELECTRONIC COMPONENTS IN NAVAL WEAPON SYSTEMS. $364,500.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: PROF. N. BLOEMBERGER, DIVISION OF ENGINEERING AND APPLIED PHYSICS.

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: THIS RESEARCH IS DIRECTED TO ADVANCING AVAILABILITY OF IMPROVED TRANSISTORS AND SIMILAR ELECTRONIC DEVICES, AS WELL AS METHODS FOR AUTOMATIC CONTROL, TO BE USED IN NAVAL WEAPON SYSTEMS.

SPONSOR: AIR FORCE ELECTRONIC SYSTEMS DIVISION, HANSCOM FIELD, BEDFORD, MASS.

TITLE: MATHEMATICAL ANALYSIS OF OPERATING SYSTEMS. $30,187.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: PROF. U. GAGLIARDI, DIVISION OF ENGINEERING AND APPLIED PHYSICS

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: TO ANALYZE THE RELATION BETWEEN OPERATIONAL DEMANDS AND POSSIBLE OPERATING SYSTEMS DESIGNS. TO DETERMINE WHAT DESIGNS ARE MOST SUITABLE FOR USE IN AIR FORCE APPLICATIONS SO THAT THE AIR FORCE CAN BETTER EVALUATE SYSTEM DESIGNS PROPOSED BY VENDORS.

Tactical weapons systems development:

We deliver.

SPONSOR: OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH, ARLINGTON, VA.

TITLE: WEAPONRY -- STATISTICAL THEORY AND METHODOLOGY. $25,000.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: PROF. W.G. COCHRAN, DEPT. OF STATISTICS

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: TO IMPROVE THE NAVY'S WEAPONRY BY CREATING IMPROVED STATISTICAL METHODOLOGY FOR DESIGNING, MODELING, AND EVALUATING WEAPON SYSTEMS.

The project then is assigned to a standing panel or an ad hoc group for study. Members visit field activities, receive briefings, and return to their home offices and labs for individual work. Formal reports are then submitted which are distributed to Air Force authorities and interested activities. Comments are solicited from Air Force commands and the air staff coordinates the reply or implementing action.

The semi-annual meetings of the board revolve around a central theme. The spring meeting this year, for example, will have air defense as its theme. At the meetings members are brought up to speed on the board's activities as well as R&D progress in various areas.

When asked by The JOURNAL what they consider the board's more important accomplishments, AFSAB spokesmen came up with a list of 12 studies completed over the past three years. One doesn't have to be technically oriented to understand the import to the Air Force--and the country--of some of the titles:

- Advice to the Secretary of the Air Force and Chief of Staff on the F-111 and C-5 programs.
- Weapons Retrieval.
- Geodesy and Target Location for ICBM.
- Use of Simulators in the Training of Pilots.
- Mid-Course ICBM Interception
- Characteristics of Precise Electronic Navigation Weapons Delivery System.
- Utilization of Filamentary Composites.
- Air Force portion of the DoD Proposal for National Space Objectives.
- Improving Ionospheric Research for Over-the-Horizon Detection Systems.
- Improvements in the Aeromedical R&D Program.
- Testing Minuteman from Operational Sites.
- Information Processing in Operational Systems and Management.

As with the other departments, the Air Force is convinced it has a winner in AFSAB, and for the same reasons--objective synergistic advice on just about everything, and keeping the RDT&E effort on the beam.

Dr. Yu-Chi Ho (DEAP) is a member of the Army Scientific Advisory Panel, and has worked on Tactical Automatic Data Processing Systems, including the Cheyenne Helicopter Computer.

Edward Purcell (Physics) is currently serving with the President's Science Advisory Committee.

Dean Harvey Brooks (of DEAP) and Professor Roger Revelle (Center for Population Studies) are on the Naval Research Advisory Committee. According to the Armed Forces Journal, the NRAC "areas of interest are: ships, ordnance, R & D management, Aircraft, and undersea warfare and Oceanography."

Harvard professors are also doing a brisk business with war contractors in the Boston area. The most deeply implicated is Dean Harvey Brooks, who seems hopelessly enamoured of things military. Brooks has the rare distinction of being a director of RAYTHEON, the largest industrial employer and largest war contractor in Massachusetts. RAYTHEON makes missiles, bombing radar, electronic countermeasures gear, guidance systems, bomb fuses, and communications systems.

Kistiakowsky, Ehrenreich (DEAP), Purcell (University Prof.) and Corey (Business School) are associated with the defense firm ITEK, which produces night vision and other systems for DoD. Kistiakowsky and Corey are on the Board of Directors, and Ehrenreich and Purcell are members of the Scientific Advisory Board. The company received $40.1 million in contracts from DoD in 1969.

C. Roland Christensen, Professor of Business Administration, and Alonzo S. Yerby, Head of Health Services Administration in the School of Public Health, are on the Board of Directors of Arthur D. Little, a Cambridge consulting firm. The Board also includes Mary I. Bunting, the recently retired President of Radcliffe. ADL did $2 million worth of business with the Pentagon last year, primarily in management studies. Other studies included models for weapons performance, a review of navy undersea warfare, and a survey of the marketing potential of electro-optical surveillance equipment. ADL also received $1.6 million last year from the Agency for International Development of the U.S. State Department. This agency is not known for especially tolerant attitudes towards social change. (See article on Development Advisory Service.)

Myles L. Mace (Business School) is on the Board of Litton Industries, which took in $516 million in defense business in 1971. Lynn Bollinger left the Business School a few years ago to devote himself full time to the Helio Company, Hanscom Field, Bedford, Mass. Helio makes STOL aircraft which were initially sold to the CIA for use in Laos, and are now being sold to the Dept. of Defense for use in the Vietnamization program.

In 1971 Dr. U. Gagliardi (DEAP) became Director of Engineering and Technical Director of Advanced Development for Honeywell Information Systems in Waltham. The Honeywell Corporation took in $236.6 million worth of Pentagon business in 1971.

During the Nixon administration, at least 14 Harvard professors and administrators held important posts in the military research complex (excluding private business). John D. Baldeschieler, who left for Stanford in 1969, served

Sampler [continued]

SPONSOR: USAF ELECTRONIC SYSTEMS DIVISION

TITLE: INVESTIGATION OF SOFTWARE TECHNIQUES TO FACILITATE USE OF COMPUTER NETWORKS, 29/06/71 - $207,000 FOR ARPA.

SPONSOR: AIR FORCE OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA.

TITLE: QUANTUM FIELD THEORY, QUANTUM OPTICS, AND STATISTICAL PROPERTIES. $150,000.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: R. J. GLAUBER

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: THE APPLICATION OF LASERS AND RELATED DEVICES TO AIR FORCE OPERATIONS, BOTH IN WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND AS TEST AND ANALYSIS TOOLS, HAS MADE DETAILED UNDERSTANDING OF COHERENCE PHENOMENA OF IMMEDIATE IMPORTANCE.... RESEARCH ON THE FORMALISM AND BEHAVIOR OF FUNDAMENTAL PHYSICAL SYSTEMS OF VARYING COMPLEXITY WILL LEAD TO THE BASIC UNDERSTANDING NECESSARY TO ADAPT THIS KNOWLEDGE TO APPLIED TECHNOLOGY.

Special Report: Laser Thermal Weapons

Research Nears Application Level

Passage of critical milestones in next few months could lead to prototype air defense experiment funding in Fiscal 1974

SPONSOR: OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH, ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA.

TITLE: NAVIGATION: PROPERTIES OF VERY-LOW-FREQUENCY WAVES. $59,500.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: PROF. J. A. PIERCE

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: NAVY HAS NEED FOR EXTREMELY PRECISE NAVIGATION AND POSITION-LOCATION SYSTEMS FOR FLEET USAGE. RESEARCH OF THIS EFFORT IS DIRECTED TO EVOLUTION OF A NEW NAVIGATION SYSTEM, BASED ON OBSERVATION OF RADIO STARS, WHICH WILL IMPROVE ACCURACY AND RELIABILITY OF FLEET NAVIGATION.

SPONSOR: OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH

TITLE: NAVY VEHICLE DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION: STRUCTURE AND PROPERTIES OF MODEL COMPOUNDS FOR HEAT RESISTANT PLASTICS AND RUBBERS. $68,000.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: PROF. W.W. LIPSCOMB

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: SUPERIOR PLASTIC AND RUBBERY MATERIALS IN MANY FORMS ARE NEEDED TO SOLVE COMPLEX FABRICATION PROBLEMS OF ADVANCED NAVY WEAPON SYSTEMS, SUCH AS F14 AIRCRAFT. IT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH TO PROVIDE THE CHEMICAL THEORY NEEDED TO GUIDE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW FAMILIES OF MATERIALS SUCH AS THE PROMISING NEW CARBORANE BASED HIGH TEMPERATURE ELASTOMERS.

Committee; Cheatham served on the Air Force Board; Harvey Brooks, Ivan E. Sutherland, (now at Utah working on the ARPA time-sharing computer network) and Roger Revelle all served on the Navy Research Advisory Committee. Thomas Schelling served until 1970 with the Defense Science Board, which was created in 1956 to "canvass periodically ....(the) opportunities presented by new scientific knowledge for radically new weapons systems." As already noted, Kistiakowski consulted for the Pentagon while on the Jason Committee, and Frank Westheimer was a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee, as were Harvard Overseer Charles Slichter and Physics professor Edward Purcell. Dr. Hendrik Bode, professor of Systems Engineering, was a trustee of the Research Analysis Corporation, the Federal Contract Research Center responsible for systems analysis and operations research work for the U.S. Army. (Studies in the late sixties included work on the utilization of chemical and biological warfare in counter insurgency, and the mobilization of minority groups in counterguerilla operations. RAC is particularly proud of its role in the creation of the Army's helicopter-borne 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile.)

Don K. Price, Dean of the JFK School of Government, was a trustee of the famous (or, more accurately, infamous) RAND Corp., which received 22 million annually for research on everything from inter-continental ballistic missiles to "Viet Cong Motivation and Morale" to "Politics and Economic Growth in India."

The inimitable C.Douglas Dillon, recently retired Chairman of the Harvard Board of Overseers, was (and still is?) a trustee of the detestable Institute for Defense Analysis, which receives approximately $16 million annually to study the effectiveness of proposed weapons systems, counterinsurgency, tactical nuclear weapons, and chemical and biological warfare; more recently IDA has been getting into the application of science and technology to crime control. An IDA report on this particular subject recommended the application of military counterinsurgency systems to domestic police operations, and particularly to anti-riot operations. "Pacification" comes to the U.S., courtesy of C. Douglas Dillon.

And finally, of course, there was Robert C. Seamans, Nixon's Secretary of the Air Force. This man's presence on the senior governing board of this university, while he is supervising the maiming and butchery of millions of Indochinese people, turns Harvard's liberal democratic tradition into a cruel and pathetic joke.

"A military target is any person, thing, idea, entity or location selected for destruction, inactivation, or rendering nonusable with weapons which will reduce or destroy the will of the enemy to resist."
--USAF manual, *Fundamentals of Aerospace Weapons Systems*

Sampler [concluded]

SPONSOR: AIR FORCE CAMBRIDGE RESEARCH LABORATORIES, HANSCOM FIELD, BEDFORD, MASS. (ALSO NAVY)

TITLE: RESEARCH STUDIES ON ELECTROMAGNETIC RADIATION AND ANTENNAS. $137,000.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: PROF. R. W. P. KING, DIVISION OF ENGINEERING AND APPLIED PHYSICS

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: AIR FORCE FUNCTION - RADAR SURVEILLANCE AND RADIO COMMUNICATIONS. DEFICIENCY - PRESENT ANTENNA ARRAY TECHNOLOGY CANNOT ADEQUATELY COPE WITH INTERACTION OF CLOSELY SPACED ANTENNA ELEMENTS. RESEARCH - TECHNIQUES FOR ANALYZING DIPOLE INTERACTION FOR VARIOUS CONFIGURATIONS. HOW RESEARCH CONTRIBUTES - PROVIDES BASIC INFORMATION FOR CONSTRUCTING PHASED ARRAYS WHICH INCLUDES INFLUENCE OF MUTUAL COUPLING.

SPONSOR: OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH

TITLE: COMMAND AND CONTROL: MATHEMATICAL THEORY RELATED TO ECONOMIC DECISION ANALYSIS. $26,239.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: PROF. K.J. ARROW, DEPT. OF ECONOMICS

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: THIS RESEARCH IS DIRECTED TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MATHEMATICALLY BASED THEORY OF ECONOMIC DECISION ANALYSIS FOR ANALYZING COMPLEX ECONOMIC PROBLEMS SUCH AS THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH NAVAL LOGISTICS AND PROCUREMENTS INVOLVING LARGE CAPITAL INVESTMENTS.

SPONSOR: OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH

TITLE: PERSONNEL TECHNOLOGY: FACTORS WHICH ENABLE NAVAL PERSONNEL TO REMAIN ALERT

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: PROF. D. SHAPIRO

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: THIS RESEARCH IS CONCERNED WITH THE SENSORY INPUT ESSENTIAL TO 'AROUSAL' AND THE MAINTENANCE OF VIGILANCE. MORE BROADLY, IT SEEKS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL STATES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON PERFORMANCE.

SPONSOR: U.S. ARMY R&D COMMAND, WASHINGTON, D.C.

TITLE: METABOLIC AND CARDIOVASCULAR RESPONSE TO TRAUMA. $31,363.

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: PROF. G.H.A. CLOWES

TECHNICAL OBJECTIVE: TO DEFINE CIRCULATORY MALFUNCTIONS CAUSING METABOLIC, PULMONARY, AND CARDIAC DISORDERS IN THE WOUNDED SOLDIER SUSTAINING SHOCK AND SEPSIS.

The Cambridge Project

In the second Annual Report of the Cambridge Project, members of the project described their work as "a cooperative effort to make digital computers more useful in the behavioral sciences." "The participants include computer scientists, statisticians, and behavioral scien tists from a wide range of specialties. Most of them are at MIT or Harvard University. The work of the project has two main parts: (1) developing computer methods and programs that are needed in behavioral science and its applications; (2) combining those developments, and others, into a consistent system of tools for behavioral scientists from a variety of disciplines."

The Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), which is funding the project, gave a somewhat different description to Congress:

"ARPA has reoriented its behavioral science research work into a direction where there is broad agreement in the research and defense community that more promise exists -- the interdisciplinary combination of the computer and behavioral sciences in specific problem areas. The objective is to produce results to Defense user organizations within five years. Initially, we have extended support to three basic programs to be conducted at universities where unique talent now exists. Simultaneously, we began a management inquiry to determine how to use an applied research organization to apply the results of the basic research to specific and immediate DoD operational problems. As the work progresses, and to the extent that the results of our management analysis warrant, we plan to phase down ARPA sponsorship of university participation in the three programs.

The first university program is the Cambridge Project which seeks to provide tools needed to determine trend and interaction effects in complex DoD systems. System examples include designing hardware for effective human operation, training

and educating personnel, organizing manpower, and allocating resources. We have more than enough data, but we lack tools to enable us to extract patterns and raw inferences from them. The work takes advantage of existing ARPA-funded interactive computing capability at MIT and will have broad participation by MIT and Harvard scientists. This effort will be supported at approximately $2,400,000 yearly."

(from "Behavioral Sciences Projects Proposed for Funding in Fiscal Year 1970", Congressional Record-Senate, August 12, 1969 (S 9750))

The text of the original funding proposal to the Department of Defense also belies the innocuous description in the current project abstract. Presumably in an attempt to sugar-coat their proposal with strategic usefulness, the proponents wrote:

"Even an offhand list of behavioral science topics of interest to DoD rapidly becomes long, including, for example, leadership, organizational communications, personnel training, policy analysis, public attitudes, morale, the psychology of deterence, the psychology of bargaining, adjustment to foreign cultures, selection, allocation and assignment, man-machine communication, combat effectiveness, area knowledge, economic resources, and manpower utilization.... Most of them are problems in which our understanding has been inhibited partly by the inadequacy of present modes of data management, analysis and modeling."

The kinds of data which proponents of the project said would be involved in the research included "world economic statistics," "U.S. economic statistics," "international armament expenditures and trends," "public opinion polls from all countries," "characteristics of local conflicts and limited war crises," "data on youth movements," "mass unrest and political movements under conditions of rapid social change," and "peasant attitudes and behavior."

Most of the specific research projects mentioned in the initial grant proposal have not materialized under the Cambridge Project. Opponents of the project during its first year concluded, after examining the text of a grant proposal that would have impressed even the most accomplished fascist, that Harvard and MIT professors were about to embark on a program of counter-insurgency research. Defenders of the project countered this charge by saying that writing a grant proposal to the government is actually kind of a game. "The object," reported Marion Lennihan in the Crimson, "is to make your particular academic interest sound as beneficial as possible to the potential source of funds, without necessarily intending to produce what the source wants. Whether the specific data and research projects in the funding proposal reflected the intention of the Projects's framers or an attempt to coax funds from DoD is comparatively insignificant."

What is significant about the Cambridge Project is the "abstract technology" -- interface processing, new software, complex analysis techniques -- which participants in the project so fondly assert is "value-free." It isn't. The DoD may never use specific programs produced by the project, but it will use (and is already using) the technical expertise developed in the process of writing them.

Although overlooked by radicals several years ago, computer techniques relevant to DoD problems were

documented in the original funding proposal: "Manpower estimates depend on longitudinal models of mass behavior. Area knowledge depends on efficient storage, indexing, and retrieval of diverse data. Accelerating the precesses of teaching and learning depends on achieving better models of cognitive processes. Improvement in organizational communications is likely to follow from better models of the network of information flows. Intelligent personnel assessment requires progress in our methods of multi-dimensional psychometric scaling. Achievement of deterence can be helped by better bargaining models and by documentation of cultural values through symbolic analysis." (emphasis ours).

Some of these techniques might have humane applications, although all of them seem to tend towards the manipulation of the many by the few; they are definitely not "value-free" when bought and paid for by the Pentagon.

Another factor which strongly affects how these techniques will be used is Harvard's presence on the ARPA network, a time-sharing system linking computers from all over the country. In addition to MIT and Harvard, the ARPA net includes RAND Corp., Systems Development Corp., Stanford Research Institute, Lincoln Laboratory, Case Institute, NASA (Ames), Carnegie Tech, University of Utah, UCSB, UCLA, Bolt, Beranek, and Newman, and the MITRE Corp.* All are heavily involved in war-related research, and the last mentioned company is a major contractor for the electronic battlefield. Some observers of the ARPA network have stated that it is already being used by the Pentagon to test models of climactic change. The results of these tests are believed to have some bearing on the weather modification program over Laos. It is also believed that, as far as the Pentagon is concerned, the ARPA network is merely the prototype for more advanced, comprehensive tactical systems of the future.

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* Bolt, Beranek, and Newman (on Moulton St. in North Cambridge) is the nerve center of the network, replete with a "classified" limited access control area and armed security guards.

Advanced Research Projects Agency

FY 1973 RDT&E DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY

Budget Activity No. 1 — Title: Military Sciences

Program Element No. 61101D — Title: Defense Research Sciences

Project: Human Resources Research — Subproject Title: Analysis and Modeling of Complex Systems

RDT&E Category: Research

DESCRIPTION: The objective of this project is to develop an advanced, computer based analytical capability for application to Defense problems requiring for their solution the simultaneous management and control a large number of behavioral factors as well as the manipulation of extremely large masses of data. In addition to analytical methods, the project focuses on the development of a computer facility and associated programming techniques which will permit the sharing of data and methods among a community of scientists and Defense personnel who need not be computer experts to use the system effectively. Examples of Defense Department applications for which this advanced capability will be useful include: a) the management and rapid analysis of masses of intelligence data to discern trends and significant events; b) simulation and experimental assessment of the operational dynamics of large command and control systems; c) comprehensive analysis of the diverse factors which bear on the effective operation and management of the DoD personnel force; d) quantitative assessment of the numerous factors bearing on strategic defense postures to enhance the capability to forecast and prepare for possible armed conflict.

RELATED ACTIVITIES: ARPA support in FY 73 is planned for the Rome Air Development Center in support of an R&D effort which will apply techniques developed under this project to the screening of masses of intelligence data to derive predictive trends and warnings.

WORK PERFORMED BY: The contractor is the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with a sub-contract to Harvard University.

Harvard's Consuming Passion

KEY TO MAP

1. NASA site (now Department of Transportation/Transportation Systems Center)
2. Mount Auburn Hospital (in West Cambridge) and Cambridge Hospital (toward E. Cambridge)
3. Kennedy Library site (presently home of the MTA train yards)
4. Putnam Avenue-Mount Auburn Street corner (elderly housing)
5. Cambridge Street-Prospect Street site (low-income housing planned)
6. River Street-Howard Street site
7. Sacramento Street-Garfield Street block
8. Peabody Terrace: married student housing
9. Treeland site on Memorial Drive
10. Central Square
11. The former Sheraton-Commander Hotel, now a freshman dorm.

If it were your job to write a brochure attracting young professionals to live and work in Cambridge, it would not be hard to do a convincing job. New high-rise apartment and office buildings. New job opportunities with one of the Research and Development firms connected with the universities or last year with NASA, now with the Dept. of Transportation. Health services provided in new buildings (some of them built when Harvard deigned to use Cambridge City Hospital for the Medical School) at the two large Cambridge hospitals. Three new elementary schools. The soon-to-be-built Kennedy Library. And, last but not least, you would not fail to mention the cultural and social benefits of living close to Harvard and MIT.

If, on the other hand, you had to convince long-term Cambridge residents- people with families to support, elderly, blacks, welfare mothers, industrial workers- that life is improving here for them, you would have an impossible task. The cost of living continues to rise. Heavy industry, which many Cambridge residents depended on for employment, is leaving to make way for the expanding universities and new high-rises employing skilled bureaucrats. Rents rise without improvements by landlords.

This trend is not accidental. Instead, over the years a network of power has developed in Cambridge. Private developers, banks, "populist" politicians in the city government, and the universities have worked together to create a city substantially different from the Cambridge of 20 years ago.

This article will focus on the role Harvard has played in Cambridge. We do not deny that other links in the power structure have damaged the people of Cambridge. We do not deny that a Harvard education and some of the research going on at Harvard has great value to many people. We do say that an institution which makes a pretense of teaching humane values should not be so negligent. Nor will we discuss Harvard's other misdeeds- its use of land in Roxbury for a proposed new medical center, its plans to build a huge new power generator near the site, and its athletic facilities on Boston land, without paying any taxes. We will discuss Harvard and Cambridge because, as a recent Phoenix article points out, "Cambridge, in effect, subsidizes Harvard and MIT. For their part, Harvard and MIT redefine the notion of what and who Cambridge is."

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge was for many years an important industrial city in the first industrialized area in the country. As late as the 1940's Cambridge Chronicle (the local weekly) articles describe Cambridge as primarily an industrial, not a university, town. World War II resulted in increased pressure for housing and jobs for veterans. With the advent of the Cold War, the effects of having two large, prestigious universities began to dominate the city. Research and Development firms, many of them involved in developing new methods of warfare and space exploration, were attracted to the personnel and resource advantages the two universities could offer. Large government contracts to these firms and to people at the universities helped to create a city increasingly devoted to defense and technology.

At about the same time, land became a problem. There simply was not enough to meet the needs of the people who wanted to live in Cambridge, the industries which had provided employment to blue collar workers for years, the expanding universities, and the new R&D firms. As City Councilor Crane, a Harvard grad responsible for greasing many of the R&D firms' moves into Cambridge, remarked in the mid-fifties, "As Harvard and MIT grow, so grows the city of Cambridge."

The people of Cambridge suffered from this situation. 96 blue collar firms including Simplex Wire & Cable Co., the Daggett Press, Fanny Farmers, Riverside Press, Goodrich and Hold, and Hyde Shoe have shut down or left Cambridge because of skyrocketing land prices and taxes. In their place came the Dept. of Transportation né NASA, which pays no taxes, and such firms as Arthur D. Little, which received an abatement of $53,824 on its personal property tax in 1970, according to the Phoenix. This created increased property values, resulting in higher assessments for many long-time Cambridge residents. It was they, not the upper-echelon employees of the universities or the R&D firms, many of whom live in the suburbs, who were forced to pay.

The population of Cambridge has been steadily decreasing over the past 20 years (107,000 in 1960; 100,000 in 1970), while university enrollment has substantially increased. This is due in part to the lack of blue collar jobs available in the city, but it is also due to the phenomenal rise in rents. According to a report from the Committee of Concerned Alumni, from 1960-1970 rents in metropolitan Boston, considered one of the nation's most expensive areas, rose 27%. In Cambridge rents rose 90% during the same period. (In early 1972 Cambridge City Council passed a rent control ordinance rolling rents back to the level of March, 1970.)

As John Mollenkopf and John Pynoos write in "Boardwalk and Park Place",

"Neither federal programs nor local rent control efforts have stayed the steady displacement of Cambridge's elderly and blue collar population from their long-time homes and neighborhoods." According to them, from 1960-1970 1900 new units, all luxury high-rise, were built. 700 low cost housing units were destroyed. 1000 federally subsidized low to moderate income housing units were built. Furthermore, because of increased demand for housing by students willing to pay the price, little rehabilitation or improvement of existing units has taken place. As Mollenkopf and Pynoos write, " When demand considerably outruns supply in a competitive market, industry should theoretically respond by upgrading the quality of the supply. The response of the housing market in Cambridge, however, has been in terms of increased rents rather than new construction; units are more likely to be subdivided than rehabilitated."

What have been the responses of the low to middle income people of Cambridge to these conditions?

----Many leave. The Committee of Concerned Alumni states that the number of families living in Cambridge decreased 27% from 1950-1970.

----Many stay but pay a large percent of their income for rent. The elderly, who comprise 11.5% of Cambridge's population according to the 1970 census, are particularly hard hit. Federal guidelines suggest suggest paying no more than 25% of one's income for housing. A 1969 survey found 1400 elderly people in Cambridge paying more than 60% of their income for housing. They are thus often deprived of such neccessities as food, health care and transportation.

----Many crowd into already existing units. The psychological, as well as the economic, effects of being pressured in this way are great. Many people in Cambridge feel defeated in their attempt to maintain some control over their lives.

Sure, you say, Maybe Harvard's prestige did attract R&D and defense-oriented firms which took jobs and housing away from Cambridge's poor. But that's not really their fault, is it? Admittedly, the City of Cambridge has influenced growth patterns through urban renewal, tax abatements, zoning changes, and land disposition. But let us look at the ways in which Harvard has contributed to, and in some cases, caused some of Cambridge's problems.

In 1960 Harvard's student population was 11,800. In 1972, it was 15,165. During the same period the faculty increased from 4485 to 8979. Harvard did not build enough housing to compensate for the increase. According to the Committee of Concerned Alumni, Harvard now houses most of its undergraduates, 43% of its unmarried graduate students, and 16.8% of its unmarried graduate students. Thus many students, needing to be close to the university, are thrown into competition for housing with long-time Cambridge residents. Students can often join together to pay more than a family can. As Mollenkopf and Pynoos write, "Students both are part of the problem because they displace working class residents and sufferers from it because of the high rents they must pay." (Students, working class, and poor people have been able to work together at times, most effectively through Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee. CTOC has organized people to agitate for low rent housing construction and rent control, and to oppose specific developments.)

Harvard is also one of Cambridge's largest landlords. From 1922-1960 Harvard acquired 159 dwelling units. From 1960-1970 Harvard bought 834 dwelling units. 173 of these were torn down at once to make room for new construction. 29 were condemned and then torn down. More are slated to be demolished. From 1960-70 Harvard built 529 units of grad student housing, primarily Peabody Terrace. Harvard also supplied land for but did not build the 94 units of community housing on the corner of Putnam Ave. and Mt. Auburn St.

Harvard has continued to expand its land holdings. Large portions will probably be used for future development. Despite promises to the people of Riverside, the area near Peabody Terrace and Mather House, Harvard has continued to buy up property in their area.

OK, you say, Harvard owns a lot of Cambridge land, and maybe some of its students and faculty are able to outbid Cambridge residents for housing. But certainly Harvard must contribute a great deal to the city of Cambridge in terms of money and professional expertise.

In the report of the Committee of Concerned Alumni it is stated that Harvard owns 224 acres or 5.6% of all the land in Cambridge. It pays taxes on 52 acres or 23.2% of its holdings. Harvard's tax-exempt land is 4.3% of all the land in Cambridge. This is in a city where 49.3% of the land is tax-exempt. Harvard has agreed to pay a very small fee to the city in lieu of taxes- in 1971 this amounted to $164,800. With taxes of $835,000 the total Harvard paid the city was $999,800. In 1971 Harvard's total budget in Cambridge was $186,400,000.

Aside from placing an extraordinarily heavy tax burden on Cambridge residents by merely occupying the land, Harvard also receives many services from the city-- sewerage service, fire protection, parking, police, and road maintenance. In an article in the Phoenix it was noted that 7% of Cambridge's population lives on Harvard's taxfree property. 7% of Cambridge's fire bill alone in 1970 was $236,250 -- a great deal more than the in lieu payment made by Harvard. Thus we see the people of Cambridge subsidizing Harvard, the very institution which threatens their existence in Cambridge.

In a city where a small number are reaping the benefits and the poor are bearing the brunt of the taxes, what attempts has Harvard made to improve a situation for which it has been at least partially responsible?

---Harvard initiated and supplied the land (and was repaid) for a project of 94 units of housing on the corner of Putnam and Mt. Auburn.

--- Harvard has assisted in planning and supplying land (for which it will be repaid) for a project of 19 family and 99 elderly units at the corner of Cambridge and Prospect Streets, still in the planning stages.

---Harvard owns land on River St. near Howard. It is willing to sell the land to the Riverside Community Corporation for a price far above its worth.

---Harvard is trying to sell land to a community group in West Cambridge at an inflated price for a low to moderate income development.

In 1965 Harvard and MIT established the Cambridge Corporation to assist Cambridge with the housing crisis. Although Harvard has funded it with $50,000 yearly instead of the $250,000 promised, the Cambridge Corporation has been more effective than Harvard considering the small amount of money it has received.

Harvard does have plans for "developing" much of the land it already has. It owns nearly all the land in the block bounded by Mass. Ave., Garfield, Oxford, and Sacramento Streets, which includes the Harvard cooperative houses. Charles Whitlock, former vice president for Community Affairs, was quoted in the Harvard Crimson: "Harvard has planned to tear down the cooperatives for years. We own almost the entire block up there and it is inevitable that we will develop it."

THIS DANDY APARTMENT COSTS ONLY $250 PER MONTH
..AND SINCE I LIKE YOU FOLKS- THERE WILL BE NO CHARGE FOR KEEPING PETS
WHAT PETS?

Riverside is the area which has been most affected by Harvard's unchecked growth. Riverside's mixed community is disintegrating under the influx of Harvard's students and faculty. Whitlock's statement to the Riverside Neighborhood Association (Cambridge Chronicle 5/25/61), "Harvard is not interested in further land purchase in this area." has subsequently been disregarded time and time again. Furthermore, in 1970 the Riverside community was told by Treasurer of the Harvard Corporation George Bennett that the riverfront land on the Treeland site Harvard owns which the people of Riverside wanted developed as community housing was "too valuable" for them. The river frontage, open space, and access to sunlight should not be reserved for the rich. However, Harvard considered selling land on the corner of Howard and River Streets to Riverside. The only catch is that the price Harvard is asking is far above the feasible amount for such a low income project. Thus, Harvard has been able to buy another two years of time without taking any action. As the CTOC newsletter describes Harvard's behavior in Riverside, "We can see that Harvard is a slippery customer!" In fact, Harvard's main business is turning out lawyers, businessmen, "social scientists", and politicians adept at preserving present property relations in slippery ways. Harvard's way is not to directly confront its victims but to play the great "liberal", letting us have our say,and parading its good intentions. Meanwhile it steadily expands and tightens its hold on Cambridge."

The newest atrocity Harvard plans to perpetrate on the people of Cambridge is the Kennedy Library. This pure tax loss for the city will bring 250,000 visitors to Harvard yearly. The city has already appropriated $225,000 to study parking in the area around the proposed library and in adjoining Harvard Square. Plans currently include a high-rise luxury apartment building since, as the Harvard-dominated library commission has pointed out, no low-moderate housing needs to be built due to the existng supply.

Although we realize that many of Harvard's actions in respect to Cambridge are consistent with its policy in other areas, we agree with community groups that Harvard must take action to compensate for the damage it has wreaked.

---Harvard should stop acquiring land now.

---Harvard should continue to develop its community relations structure to deal with Cambridge residents with respect. A problem in the past has been that the community is dealt with by lower-echelon bureaucrats who are unable to make commitments for the university.

---Harvard should assist with large amounts of money and professional expertise (when requested) to assist with community housing efforts.

---Harvard should develop some of the land it owns, particularly the Treeland and Garfield-Sacromento sites into low income housing or possibly mixed student-faculty-community housing.

---Harvard should make provisions for housing all its undergrad and grad students. Until such housing is available enrollment should not be increased.

---Harvard should assist the city with a more equitable payment for services rendered.

---Harvard should make a special effort to employ Cambridge residents on construction projects or within the university itself.

---Finally, Harvard should allow the community more access to its facilities, especially the libraries and athletic facilities. Cambridge residents, perhaps through lowered tuitions, could be encouraged to take or audit courses.

We believe that the roots of many of the problems this article deals with are directly related to the distribution of power and wealth in our society. For too long many of the people of Cambridge have suffered not only from low wages and high rents, but also from a sense of powerlessness about their ability to effect change and to fight the powers which dominate them. CTOC has attempted to build a union of people to fight about tenant-related issues. We should support them and other community groups in their struggle.

For, if Harvard continues its present policies the city will be transformed. In 1968 the Cambridge Housing Convention's report saw little future for many of Cambridge's present residents: "Cambridge will soon become a community consisting solely of large universities, space-age industry, and affluent residential areas."